DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 131 977 RC 009 551

AUTHOR Vigil, Maurilio E.
TITLE Hispanos and the Governorship in New Mexico.
PUB DATE 28 Apr 76
NOTE 32p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association (Phoenix, Arizona, April 28-May 1, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Elections; Government (Administrative Body); Mexican Americans; Political Affiliation; Political Influences; Political Issues; *Politics; *Public Officials; Public Opinion; *Spanish Americans; *State Government; State Officials
IDENTIFIERS *New Mexico; State Governors

ABSTRACT

New Mexico's Hispanos have long participated actively in every facet of state politics--party work, candidacy, office holding, and voting. Yet, they have not shared the political rewards commensurate with political importance in state politics. The 1974 election of Jerry Apodaca as New Mexico's twenty-third Governor marked only the third time, and the first in recent history, when an Hispano achieved the state's highest elective executive office. The 1940, 1948, 1968, and 1974 governor elections which saw a popular Anglo facing a popular Hispano were compared. This report discusses: (1) the electoral circumstances that made an Apodaca victory possible; (2) the way the circumstances differed from previous efforts by Hispanos; and (3) the long-term implications for New Mexico politics that can be drawn from Apodaca's victory. By comparing the key electoral variables present, the campaign strategy, and the election returns, the fallacy in traditional axioms about New Mexico politics, primary of which has been the axiom that an Hispano could not win for Governor in the state, was illustrated. (NQ)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

2 EDRS
p. 13 no
11 X 8 ½

AUG 1976
ERIC / CRESS
RECEIVED

ED131977

HISPANOS AND THE GOVERNORSHIP IN NEW MEXICO

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

by

Maurilio E. Vigil
Department of Political Science
New Mexico Highlands University
Las Vegas, New Mexico

RC009551

Delivered at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Phoenix, Arizona, April 28-May 1, 1976.

"HISPANOS AND THE GOVERNORSHIP IN NEW MEXICO"*

by
Maurilio E. Vigil
Asst. Professor of Political Science
New Mexico Highlands University

INTRODUCTION

The election of Jerry Apodaca as New Mexico's twenty-third Governor on November 5, 1974 marked only the third time, and the first in recent history when an Hispano achieved the state's highest elective executive office.[1] The accomplishment bears analysis not only because of the precedent shattering implications, but because it refutes a long standing political dogma which argued that Hispanos could never be elected to the Governorship in New Mexico.

What were the electoral circumstances that made an Apodaca victory possible? In what way do the circumstances differ from previous efforts by Hispanos? What long-term implications for New Mexico politics can be drawn from Apodaca's victory? An in-depth analysis of these three questions will make possible an evaluation of the merits of traditional assumptions about Hispanos and the Governorship in New Mexico, will present possible alternative thoughts on the subject, and will help "explain" Governor Apodaca's victory, while shedding new light on the prospects for

*This research project was conducted in cooperation with the Department of History and Political Science, New Mexico Highlands University, and supported by a grant from the Institute of Research, at Highlands University.

Hispanos in New Mexico politics.

BACKGROUND

New Mexico's Hispano[2] population is unique from the Hispano population in the southwest. The uniqueness stems first of all from the historical experience of Hispanos in New Mexico which was one of "colonization" by Spanish adventurers and explorers, and descendance from these as contrasted by the Mexican "immigrant" experience of Hispanos in other states.[3] The uniqueness also stems from the fact that Hispanos were heavily concentrated in New Mexico at the time of the American occupation and conquest. Thus there were approximately 60,000 Hispanos in New Mexico, approximately 7,500 in California, 5,000 in Texas and perhaps 1,000 in Arizona.[4]

The large population of Hispanos in New Mexico, the isolation of the northern provinces from Mexico, and the thriving progression of civilization in New Mexico (as manifested by the growth of the trade and commercial centers, the emerging large-scale livestock enterprise) all contributed to the emergence of a well developed political structure which was not supplanted by Anglo leadership when American occupation took place. Instead Hispano leaders quickly became politically socialized in the new rules of the American game of politics. From these roots thus stems the unique "political behavior" of Hispanos in New Mexico which to be sure contrasts with the political apathy and non-participation of Hispanos in other southwestern states.

New Mexico's Hispanos have long participated actively in every facet of state politics - party work, candidacy, office holding, and voting - as previous studies have clearly shown.[5] Still, some of the leading students of New Mexico politics have wondered why New Mexico's Hispanos have not shared the political rewards commensurate with their political importance in state politics. Ernest Fincher for example has written:

> Unlike most disadvantaged cultural groups, the Spanish Americans of New Mexico have been very active in politics. Throughout the period of statehood, practical politicians and social scientists alike have remarked upon the unusual interest which the average Hispano takes in all forms of political activity. This exhibits itself in attendance at political meetings; participation in speech making, canvassing and other forms of electioneering... /and in/ voting". The percentage of registered voters who actually cast ballots in the most Hispanic counties is almost double that of the state as a whole... /However/ despite the fact that the Hispanic population exceeded the Anglo population during much of the period, most of the political plums fell into the hands of Anglo-Americans... This failure to gain political power commensurate with numbers, party loyalty, exercise of the franchise and other considerations which generally bring advantage, may spring from the conscious subordination of one culture group by another. On the other hand, the failure may be attributable to characteristics of the disadvantaged group itself... To state it otherwise, Hispanic-Americans have not enjoyed their share of political power because they have constituted a cultural enclave which has defied incorporation. Since political authority is generated more by economic and educational status than by mere numbers, the Spanish speaking people have been forced into a subordinate role in the affairs of government.[6]

Fincher's astute observation can lead to a different conclusion if viewed from a different perspective. It can be argued, Hispanos in New Mexico have constituted a recognizable

ethnic enclave which has been incorporated as a politically distinguishable and powerful group, as manifested by high levels of turnout and high levels of preference for Hispano candidates. However, the group has been incorporated by and for special interests - partisan, occupational, business - other than purely ethnic interests. This has meant that Hispanos have been employed (manipulated) historically to achieve almost every conceivable benefit except ethnic. Ethnic-related issues for example have rarely been raised in New Mexico politics, on the contrary they have been systematically avoided.[7] The result has been that Hispano and Anglo candidates alike representing interests other than ethnic per se have played upon the ethnic vote and benefitted from it, without having to reward in kind the ethnic support received by granting specific "ethnic-related" rewards.

This has begun to change. The modern Chicano movement has had a profound impact in New Mexico. The most important and dramatic result of the Chicano movement has been the emergence of a wide array of political and quasi-political organizations. Organizations such as the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres and its political arm The Peoples Constitutional Party, La Raza Unida Party as well as a large number of special occupational, business, youth and other Chicano organizations have called attention to the problems of the Hispano in New Mexico, have generated a dialog, or communication which has rekindled a deep-seated ethnic pride

among New Mexico's Hispanos. These organizations have in their rhetoric forced the attention of political activists upon ethnic issues lest they lose the support of the ethnic group.

It is on this long historical basis that the recent election must be evaluated. First, Hispanos have long participated in politics. Second, Hispanos have always been "capable" of achieving any state political office given the appropriate electoral circumstances. Three, the Chicano movement has had a profound impact in unifying the Hispano population, and very importantly this new unity is achieved on the basis of ethnic consciousness, awareness and pride and concern for the ethnic group. These three historical conditions must all be taken into account in considering the contemporary political position of the Hispano in New Mexico politics. Since the 1940's Hispanos have no longer constituted a numerical majority of the state's population. However according to the 1970 census they do constitute a significant proportion (40.1%) of the states population, with a majority of the population in fifteen of the state's thirty-two counties.[9] Moreover, Hispanos do continue to exhibit higher levels of voter turnout than the population of the state as a whole and they do continue to exhibit a preference for Hispano candidates for office.

CENTRAL HYPOTHESIS

While taking into consideration the aforementioned historical background and conditions this report will attempt to present

a realistic picture of the contemporary political situation of the Hispano in New Mexico politics.

The central hypothesis is that ethnicity is one of the most crucial political variables operational in New Mexico politics. This means that every candidate for state political office must in some way allow in his electoral strategy for the consideration of this crucial variable. A corollary argument is that ethnicity is one among several other variables such as partisanship, incumbency, and so on which will also affect the outcome of an election. Thus ethnicity alone cannot and should not be expected to explain an outcome of an election. It must be considered along with all other crucial variables in a given election.

For the Hispano politician, the prominance of the ethnic factor means that he must plan his electoral strategy to the extent even of "choosing" his opposition by timing his bid for office - in a way which will allow him/her to attain the greatest possible advantage from his ethnicity while at the same time appealing to the non-ethnic population through some other technique or variable. Considering this, it is argued an Hispano can, at present, given the correct electoral circumstances achieve any state level elective office including the Governorship in New Mexico. The following analysis of the 1974 elections in New Mexico helps illustrate how Jerry Apodaca

accomplished that very feat, where others before him had failed.

PROCEDURE

By comparing four elections for Governor in New Mexico history - the 1940, 1948, 1968, and 1974 elections - all of which saw a popular Anglo facing a popular Hispano as standard bearers for the two major parties, the effort will be to arrive at the electoral conditions which are most conducive to the electoral success of an Hispano in the states highest office. By comparing the key electoral variables present, the campaign strategy, and the election returns in these elections, the report will illustrate the fallacy in traditional axioms about New Mexico politics, primary of which has been the axiom that an Hispano could not win for Governor in the state.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

In his post-election analysis of the 1974 New Mexico election, Fred Buckles - considered by many the most astute journalist political observer of New Mexico state politics stated - wrote in his column "Inside the Capital" that:

> Democrat Jerry Apodaca won the Governors race over Republican Joe Skeen by cutting the normal 10,000 vote GOP Bernalillo County plurality to 7,543. Skeen won pro-Republican Bernalillo County 56,819 to 49,276. Long-standing political axiom holds a GOP governor candidate must carry Bernalillo by at least 10,000 votes to absorb out-state Democratic majorities and win.[10]

One need not go too far back in New Mexico political history to find an exception to Buckles' observation, for whatever applicability Buckles' assessment may have had to prior Republican Governor successes it certainly did not hold in the 1968 Gubernatorial election when David Cargo, the last Republican Governor in New Mexico was re-elected over Democrat Fabian Chavez in spite of his slim 1,231 winning margin in Bernalillo County.[11] By comparison Joe Skeen in 1974 received over 6,000 more votes than his predecessor Cargo had received in Bernalillo County yet Skeen failed to win the Governorship. No, the election cannot be that easily explained.

The inapplicability of Buckles statement is due not to the political analysts lack of perception, but primarily to the unique combination of electoral variables that present themselves in a gubernatorial election contested by a popular Hispano. To be sure,

the entry of a well-known Hispano into a major race for state office (especially the Governorship) introduces new variables that are not easily duplicated, and that make such races unique. The ethnic variable drastically alters the importance of other electoral variables such as partisanship. The exact effect of the injection of the ethnic variable upon the particular race will depend upon the electoral circumstances in the race, but some of the general impact can be inferred. For example, the Democratic Party which has predominated in New Mexico since 1936 will normally prevail in the race for Governor if they can emerge with a strong candidate. The party can normally count on strong partisan support from key regions in the state such as Little Texas and the Hispanic counties. "Little Texas" is the region in southeastern New Mexico made up of the counties of Chavez, Eddy, Lea, DeBaca, Curry and Roosevelt which is characterized by its generally low Hispanic population and besides its geographic proximity by a similar, economic, cultural and historical tie to the "lone star state".[12] Little Texas in addition to being strongly Democratic Party - oriented is also historically identified by its anti-ethnic voting patterns. Thus the appearance of an ethnic in the race for Governor against an Anglo will normally mean a high anti-ethnic vote in Little Texas. If the Hispano candidate is a Democrat the

normal Democratic victory will not take place. If the Hispano candidate is a Republican, the normal Democratic victory will be more pronounced.

The exact opposite occurs in the "Hispanic Counties" of north and north central New Mexico. The Hispanic Counties (Guadalupe, Mora, Rio Arriba, San Miguel, Socorro, Santa Fe, Sandoval and Taos) are distinguishable by the fact that over 60% of their populations are Hispanics.[13] The Hispanic Counties will usually support an Hispano for Governor regardless of his partisan affiliation. If he is opposed by an Anglo, an Hispano Democrat will probably receive a higher than normal vote because he has two key variables ethnicity and partisanship operating in his favor. An Hispano Republican will normally do well in the Hispanic Counties and will likely carry them though not as convincingly as the Democrat, since only one key variable is operational.

These two geographic areas of the state are fairly consistent in their voting patterns, and candidates normally rely on this consistency in mapping their campaign strategy. However, any change in their traditional voting pattern will dramatically affect the outcome of an election, as will be shown. The remainder of the state (including the most populous Bernalillo County) though constituting the bulk of the population is not as easily predictable, since voters in these areas will not react

dramatically to the ethnic issue, but will quite probably be influenced by other electoral variables such as partisanship, incumbency, and the campaign itself.

From these preliminary comments it is possible to discern two interrelated political rules relative to the appearance of an Hispano in the race for Governor. First, if an Hispano is nominated by one of the major parties for the Governorship and is opposed by an Anglo, it can be expected that the two regions Little Texas and the Hispanic Counties will follow a predictable pattern, and that any deviation from the normal pattern will influence the outcome of the election. Second, the remaining counties in the state will not divide as dramatically over the "ethnic" issue, but will be influenced by other factors - party, incumbency, the issues, the image and personality of the candidate, the campaign and so on. This would lead to the conclusion - quite naturally that the prospects for an Hispano for Governor in the state depend upon (a) his ability to consolidate his normal support in the Hispanic counties (b) his developing of a viable strategy that will yield support in other parts of the state - especially the most populous Bernalillo County and (c) an effort to reduce the extent of the anti-ethnic vote of Little Texas.

There have been four Gubernatorial elections in recent history[14] in New Mexico involving Hispanos, all which conform to the conditions described above, i.e. an Hispano opposed by an Anglo.

Table 1 provides a summary of the results of those four elections, and makes possible a comparison of the four races, and therein an avenue for speculation as to the factors and forces that affected the outcome of the respective races. The table provides the percentage vote received by each candidate (major and minor party) in the state as a whole, in Bernalillo County, in the Little Texas Counties, and in the Hispanic Counties.

The 1940 election waged by Democrat John E. Miles, the incumbent Governor, and former state party chairman, and Maurice Miera, the Socorro County Republican, and well known state legislator and party leader, presented the first race since 1924 (when Manuel Otero was defeated) when an Hispano had opposed an Anglo for Governor. Miera carried Bernalillo County with 52.7% of the vote, primarily because of the ongoing conflict between Miles and Bernalillo County Democratic leader Clyde Tingley,[15] but Bernalillo County had as yet not undergone the growth and population increase which would make it the decisive political area that it is today. Miera's loss was undoubtedly attributable to his marginal returns in the Hispanic Counties where he received only 52.5% of the vote, a function partly of his Republican affiliation. Miles, while cutting Miera's margin in the north received the expected landslide in Little Texas with 76.6% which combined with his victory in other parts of the state was enough for a strong victory with 55.5% of the total votes cast.

In the 1948 election the Hispano/Anglo confrontation for

TABLE 1

Comparison of Anglo-Hispano Percentage Vote in Four Gubernatorial Elections in New Mexico and Selected Regions

	1960		1948		1958			1974		
	Maurice Miera (R)	John E. Miles (D)	Manuel Lujan (R)	Thomas J. Mabry (D)	David Cargo (R)	Fabian Chavez (D)	Jose A. Maestas (PCP)	Joe Skeen (R)	Jerry Apodaca (D)	Gene Gonzales (AIP)
New Mexico Totals	45.5	55.5	45.3	54.7	50.2	49.3	.5	48.8	49.9	1.2
Bernalillo County	52.7	47.3	51.3	48.7	50.4	49.1	.5	52.6	45.6	1.8
Hispano Counties										
Guadalupe	47.4	52.6	55.0	45.0	46.5	52.7	.8	27.6	71.3	.8
Mora	60.5	39.5	62.0	38.0	52.9	46.8	.3	37.1	62.5	.4
Rio Arriba	53.8	46.2	57.2	42.8	42.8	55.5	2.7	21.3	78.0	.7
Sandoval	57.2	42.8	52.7	47.3	34.6	64.3	2.1	37.1	61.0	.9
San Miguel	50.0	50.0	55.2	44.8	50.0	49.1	.9	29.6	69.3	1.1
Santa Fe	50.1	49.9	58.1	41.9	45.5	54.0	.5	34.9	64.1	1.0
Socorro	54.6	45.4	59.1	40.9	44.7	55.0	.3	40.7	58.4	.9
Taos	52.9	47.1	59.9	40.1	47.0	52.7	.3	25.9	73.3	.8
TOTALS	52.5	47.5	57.4	42.6	45.2	54.0	.8	31.7	67.3	1.0
Little Texas Counties										
Chavez	69.4	30.6	36.2	63.8	59.9	39.8	.3	65.4	34.0	.6
Curry	21.6	78.4	22.2	77.8	54.4	45.1	.5	63.5	35.8	.7
De Baca	30.9	69.1	40.9	59.1	45.8	50.0	3.2	57.5	41.8	.7
Eddy	18.9	79.1	19.5	80.5	52.0	47.5	.5	47.3	52.0	.7
Lea	24.1	75.9	20.0	80.0	50.6	48.8	.6	59.9	39.4	.7
Roosevelt	22.0	78.0	18.3	81.7	52.7	47.0	.3	62.8	36.4	.8
TOTALS	23.4	76.6	24.2	75.8	53.8	45.7	.5	59.0	40.4	.6

Source: State of New Mexico, Official Election Returns 1940-1974 (Santa Fe: Secretary of State).

the Governorship again presented itself. This time Republican Manuel Lujan, the popular former Mayor of Santa Fe opposed the incumbent Democratic Governor Thomas J. Mabry. This election probably more than any other in the state's history witnessed the open flaunting of the "racial issue" throughout the campaign. In this election J. O. Gallegos, the powerful Hispano Democratic politico who had been defeated by Mabry in the primary charged that his defeat was due to racial prejudice, endorsed and supported Lujan. More importantly Senator Dennis Chavez, the leading Hispano politico in the state also criticized Governor Mabry of racial bias and covertly supported Lujan's candidacy.[16]

In spite of the open charges of racial bias tied to the Mabry campaign Lujan still failed to draw the kind of support that was required in the Hispanic counties for victory Although the 57.4% Lujan received in the Hispano counties was more than Miera had received in 1940 and although he also carried Bernalillo County, Mabry's overwhelming support of 75.8% in Little Texas combined with his showing in the remainder of the state gave him a convincing victory.[17]

It is important to note in these first two elections involving Hispanos that their loss was due primarily to their Republican Party label. In the heavily Democratic Hispano counties Miera and Lujan drew support from many Hispano Democrats, who eschewed the party label in favor of ethnicity, but the number of these was not enough to give them the needed

overwhelming support needed to offset the margins the Anglos were receiving in Little Texas. In relation to the aforementioned conditions influencing Hispano prospects, Hispanos were not (a) consolidating their Hispanic county vote, nor (b) reducing the Little Texas anti-ethnic vote. They failed to do either primarily because of their Republican Party label, which would lead to the conclusion that to win the Governorship an Hispano candidate must be a Democrat. The two remaining elections Hispanos would no longer face the partisan handicap.

Lujan's defeat in 1948 initiated a long drought for Hispanos in contesting the state's highest office. The defeat by Hispanos in 1940 and 1948 and the declining Hispano proportion of the state's population primarily as a result of the large Anglo influx to Bernalillo County inspired a feeling that Hispanos would never again hold the state's highest office.[18] For 20 years, in spite of the appearance of several very able Hispano politicos equal to the job of Governor none was able to challenge the standard.[19]

It was not until 1968, when the most favorable conditions for an Hispano presented themselves was the myth shattered. So convinced were Democratic Anglo politicos that the ethnic factor was no longer important, that they allowed themselves to fall into the implausible situation in the Democratic Primary in which five prominent Anglos were opposed by the single Hispano, Fabian Chavez,

then the New Mexico Senate Majority leader and a formidable opponent even in a two man race. Predictably, Chavez ran away with the nomination drawing 30.8 percent of the vote while his nearest competitor, Bruce King (elected Governor in 1970) drew 18.4%.

Although the 1968 election presented a more promising prospect for the Hispano candidate than had been the case before, since Chavez was a Democrat running against David Cargo an Anglo Republican there were other variables which affected the outcome of this race. First of all, David Cargo had the advantage of being an incumbent seeking re-election. Cargo's home residence in Bernalillo County (which he had represented in the state legislature) was also significant. However, the most crucial consideration in 1968 was Cargo's strong support in the northern Hispano counties.[20] "Lonesome Dave", known for going contrary to convention in his campaign techniques of campaigning independently of the Republican Party Organization built a strong northern constituency by his program initiatives which included construction of Villanueva and other recreational parks in northern New Mexico, and the completion of the Rio Grande Gorge Bridge designed to "connect" the northern part of the state, in his first administration. Cargo, ingeniously got maximum mileage of the important political asset he had in his wife who was an Hispana,[21] and quite often delighted northern political rally audiences by referring to his children as "my little coyotitos",

(my little half-breeds).

Not considering Cargo's popularity in the north Fabian Chavez seemed to possess almost every needed ingredient for success in the 1968 election. Chavez certainly was possessed of characteristics in addition to his Party label which could yield substantial support in Bernalillo County, Little Texas, and other parts of the state. As probably the most able Senate Majority leader in the states history Chavez had cultivated a reputation as one of the most astute politicians in the state. He certainly was the most accomplished orator (considering both Anglo and Hispano politicos), and his Senate leadership was strong testimony to his leadership and organizing ability.[22] If Chavez had any faults, they were his tendency to pursue a consistent liberal ideology, which often in the legislature antagonized powerful adversary pressure groups. Another possible flaw which may have operated against Chavez in the north was his "low-profile" ethnic appeal to northern Hispanos.[23] It was ironic that in this campaign the Hispano politico was more at home delivering fiery oratory to Anglo audiences than he was in mingling with Hispano crowds and trading pleasantries in the native dialect as is the Hispano political custom. This kind of campaigning Cargo was most adept at.

The election returns for 1968, tell very clearly the story of the 1968 election. Chavez was able to cultivate enough support (45.7%) in Little Texas to prevent the Cargo landslide

(Cargo received 53.8). Moreover, Chavez with 49.1% nearly defeated Cargo (50.4%) in his home county of Bernalillo. To ice the victory, however, Chavez needed the strong partisan and ethnic vote of the northern counties, which simply was not forthcoming. Cargo not only held Chavez to 54.0%, drawing 45.2% for himself, but defeated Chavez in San Miguel and Guadalupe Counties and held Chavez to 54.0% in Santa Fe County which Chavez had represented in the State Senate. Thus, the story of the 1968 election was the failure of the northern Hispano counties to support the ethnic candidate for the aforementioned reasons. The election however was close enough, Cargo drawing 50.4% to Chavez' 49.1% to create some doubts about the long-standing axiom of Hispanos and the Governorship.

Without a doubt, 1974 represents the banner year for New Mexico's Hispanos in state office, as six of the eight state elective office holders were Hispanos. 1974 also represents the year in which the axiom that an Hispano could not win for Governor was finally laid to rest. If the notion that the "proof of the pudding is in the sauce", then the 1974 election should offer most of the clues which answer the basic question raised in this report as to the most favorable conditions for an Hispano in the race for Governor in New Mexico. It is to an analysis of that election that this paper now turns.

Jerry Apodaca received the nomination of the majority party

as a result of three factors. First, as the first candidate to announce, Apodaca was able to develop the earliest and best organization of ary Democratic Party candidate. Second, the crowded primary race which featured four prominent Anglos and two Hispanos,[24] resulted in splintering of the state vote. Finally, Apodaca developed (a) the most effective organization and (b) the most effective public relations and mass-media campaign which in light of the splintering gave him a solid victory.[25]

The 1974 General Election campaign which pitted Apodaca against Joe Skeen a Conservative Republican rancher from southern New Mexico, was waged mainly on the "records" of the candidates in the state legislature. No prominent issues emerged, nor were any generated by the candidates in the campaign. Apodaca painted Skeen as an ultra-conservative and as an enemy of the working man and teachers. Skeen continuously attempted to depict Apodaca as a reckless liberal spendthrift, favorable to gambling interests.

Apodaca's campaign strategy essentially consisted of (1) developing a sound grassroots organization at state and local levels (2) developing an effective mass-media campaign, (3) developing an effective fund-raising operation to finance all phases of the campaign, (4) the careful planning of speeches to address the issue and present a favorable image and (5) appropriate scheduling to ensure maximum exposure of the candidate

at crucial areas.[26]

The most crucial facets of the Apodaca campaign for this report were his organization, his mass-media campaign and his campaign technique. Apodaca very successfully consolidated his own campaign organization with the regular Democratic Party organization, especially at the county level, and especially in the northern Hispano counties where the support of the Party organization is crucial. In his mass-media campaign Apodaca employed in light of the "aura of Watergate" the very effective slogan of the "man nobody owns". Otherwise Apodaca was depicted in television spot announcements as a young and energetic individual. Maximum tie-in with Apodaca's athletic exploits as a star halfback at the University of New Mexico, was accomplished by TV spot announcements depicting Apodaca throwing a pass at the football stadium or jogging. This facet of the campaign very successfully gave Apodaca favorable exposure to the Bernalillo County and state voters. Finally Apodaca, varied his campaign visits and style according to region. In Bernalillo County and other parts of the state Apodaca addressed the issues. In the north (which Apodaca did not ignore) he mingled with the Hispano crowds, engaged in bilingual discussion, conferred with the Party Chairmen. Several additional advantages which Apodaca had over Chavez in 1968 were that unlike Chavez', Hispano running mate, Apodaca's Lieutenent Governor candidate Joe Ferguson was a well-known Anglo state legislator. Also, Apodaca being

from Dona Ana County (Las Cruces) came from the southern part of the state, and one of the most populous counties while Skeen from Picacho (in Lincoln County) came from a low-population county. Finally Skeen, unlike Cargo was not an incumbent, and not as well-known and popular among northern Hispanos as Cargo was.

Although the pre-election polls [27] projected a substantial Apodaca victory, the final outcome was much closer. Apodaca finally received 49.9% to Joe Skeen's 48.8% and Gene Gonzales' (AIP) 1.2%. The remainder of the returns also tell the story of the Apodaca victory. Although Apodaca drew less support from both Bernalillo County (45.6%) and Little Texas (40.4%) than Fabian Chavez had received in 1968 (about 3.5% less in Bernalillo and 5.3 less in Little Texas), Apodaca won the election by 3,742 votes. Apodaca still fared considerably well in Little Texas however, drawing 40.4 percent of the vote and even carrying Eddy County with 52.0%. He also fared well in Bernalillo County with 45.6% though it was less than he expected. The major difference was in the northern Hispano counties where Apodaca drew 67.3% (or 13.3% more than Chavez in 1968) to Skeen's 31.7 for a vote margin of 21,690 votes. Apodaca's margin of 21,690 in the Hispano counties less Skeen's margin of 10,008 in Little Texas, and 7,543 margin in Bernalillo County, in fact, go far in "explaining" Apodaca's close to 4,000 margin of victory.

CONCLUSIONS

The most important political consequence of Jerry Apodaca's victory may well yet remain. Whether his victory will once and for all negate the "ethnic question" in relation to the Governorship as John Kennedy's tenure as President negated the "Catholic question" relative to the Presidency will, as the Governor himself speculated, depend on the success of his administration.

For now, the speculation as to the consequences of his victory must rest with the precedents that it has set. Certainly, the axiom that an Hispano cannot be elected Governor is no longer true.

In light of what has been discussed in this report what then are the most favorable conditions possible for an Hispano seeking the Governorship in New Mexico?

This question might be better answered by depicting a profile of the Hispano who can win. It seems that the first condition would-at least under current circumstance- be that he be a Democrat of liberal or moderate ideological persuasion. The Democratic Party affiliation not only reinforces the ethnic variable in the north, but generates "cross-pressures" among Anglo Democrats in Little Texas, Bernalillo County and the rest of the state, thus many will vote Democrat rather than anti-ethnic. If it is to be a Democrat, what conditions are most favorable for an Hispano in securing the nomination? Certainly a crowded slate, preferably with a proliferation of Anglo

candidates and a minimum of Hispanos (as was the case in both 1968 and 1972), which would fractionalize the vote.

The Hispano candidate must possess some or a combination of ingredients that will earn for him wide general appeal and support in a mass-media campaign addressed to Bernalillo County and voters in other parts of the state. It could be charisma, personality, good looks or energy which would project a favorable media image. It could on the other hand be a sound reputation based on a successful record of public service - perhaps in the legislature or state elective office. It would seem that an added advantage would be an Anglo running mate for Lieutenant Governor as a way of "balancing" the ticket. It would seem that a necessary condition would also be that the Hispano candidate come from a populous county, probably Bernalillo County would be best, or as in the case of Apodaca from a large southern county. Finally, and perhaps most crucial of all, the candidate should be able to consolidate his support in the northern Hispano counties. Not only must the party organizations support the Hispano, but the Hispano must appeal to the Hispano voters. He must be bilingual and able to mingle and mix with Hispano crowds.

In retrospect, admittedly, the various criteria or variables herein described are not easily duplicated, and admittedly times and conditions may alter the picture, but after all how many

people get to be Governor in any state, and furthermore how many members of ethnic minorities face such a prospect?

NOTES

[1]Don Esequiel C. de Baca, a native New Mexico Hispano and a Democrat was New Mexico's first Lieutenant Governor and second Governor (1916). He was the first Hispano to serve as Governor though his tenure was very short as he died shortly after his inauguration. The second Hispano to serve as Governor was Octaviano Larrazolo who was born in Mexico and served as Governor from 1917 to 1918. Since then no Hispano has been elected Governor.

[2]The term "Hispano" is being used in this study to refer to those people in New Mexico who identify either through surname, language, historical, cultural, patriarchal/matriarchal with the group often referred to alternately as Spanish-American, Mexican-American, Chicanos, Latin-Americans and so on, each with its constituency and advocates. The term Hispano herein employed (though by force of habit some other designation may also be used) is used to avoid a "correct designation" contest but instead to arrive at a catchall term that can apply to all the group.

[3]For a detailed discussion of this subject see Ralph H. Vigil "The New Borderlands History: A Critique" New Mexico Historical Review (July, 1973), pp. 190-200.

[4]See Joan W. Moore, Mexican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 12.

[5]Detailed descriptions of Hispano political activity in New Mexico are contained in Ernest Fincher's "Spanish Americans As A Political Factor in New Mexico" unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1950, and in Maurilio Vigil "Ethnic Organizations Among the Mexican-Americans of New Mexico: A Political Perspective", unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1974, especially Chapter five. Also Jack Holmes, Politics in New Mexicc (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), and Thomas C. Donnelly, Rocky Mountain Politics (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), Chapter 7.

[6]Fincher, pp. 284-286.

[7]See Chapter 15 in Fincher.

[8]For a complete list, description and analysis of these organizations and their impact see Vigil, Ethnic Organizations Among the Mexican-Americans of New Mexico: A Political Perspective, op. cit.

[9]Sigurd Johansen, The People of New Mexico (New Mexico State University: Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 606, 197), Table 17, p. 56.

[10]Las Vegas Daily Optic, November 7, 1974.

[11]State of New Mexico, Official Election Returns: 1911-1969. (Santa Fe: Secretary of State, 1970).

[12]The usage of these designations of "Little Texas" and "Hispanic Counties" is quite common among observers of New Mexico politics. See for example, Holmes, op cit., and T. Phillip Wolf,

"The 1968 Elections in New Mexico" Western Political Quarterly, XXII, No. 3 (September, 1969), pp. 510-516.

[13]Ibid.

[14]The reference to "recent history" is made relative to the period since 1940. The election prior to that which saw an Hispano running for Governor was in 1924. Since the distribution of the state population changed considerably from this period to 1940, this paper has restricted itself to elections since 1940.

[15]See Jack Holmes, op cit., pp. 168, 200-202.

[16]See Ernest Fincher, op. cit., pp. 225-233.

[17]Another interesting facet in the 1948 election was the race for Lieutenant Governor in which Hoseph M. Montoya (presently U.S. Senator) a Democrat ran as Mabry's running mate against Andrew Hendrix the Republican. Montoya's vote in the north was 10% greater than his running mate's, which helps explain Montoya's overall stronger showing of 59%.

[18]The 1960 census showed that Hispanos constituted 27.2% of the state population. The census figures for that year have since been found to have been far off the correct figures. The 1970 census employing language and other criteria in addition to surname (the only criteria met in 1950 and 1960) showed that Hispanos made up 40.1%. See Sigurd Johansen, op. cit., p. 52 and Table 16, p. 53.

[19]Two such prominent figures were Antono Fernandez, U.S. Representative, in the 1950's and Tibo J. Chavez, a former Lieutenant Governor, and a New Mexico Senate leader in the 1960's.

[20]Probably the only other Anglo in New Mexico politics who has so successfully cultivated Hispano support was Bronson Cutting, whom Fincher interestingly referred to as a "Patron" of the Hispanos. See Fincher, op. cit., pp. 141-149.

[21]Frequent mention was often made to the fact that Mrs. Cargo was a dues paying member of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes.

[22]This assessment of Chavez is the writer's own, based on observation of the New Mexico political scene for a long time. Chavez though in the opinion of this writer is the most able New Mexico politico, has ironically suffered from overexposure, having lost in races for Lt. Governor, Governor, and U.S. Congressman. Most recently he has served as State Tourist Director. His keen political perception can still be seen in his election night news commentary which he provides for an Albuquerque television station.

[23]This writer recalls mention in 1968 the impression that Chavez was too "Anglocized" to be a representative of Hispanos.

[24]The Anglo candidates were Boston Witt, former State Attorney General; Drew Cloud, former State Party Chairman; Odis Echols, State Senate Majority Whip; and Bobby Mayfield, former State legislator; the Hispanos were Apodaca and Tibo Chavez, State Senate Majority leader.

[25]For an indepth analysis of the 1974 Primary election from an ethnic politics perspective see Maurilio E. Vigil, "Chicanos and the 1974 Primary Elections in New Mexico: An Epitaph to the

Myth of Mexican American Political Apathy and Docility," a manuscript currently being considered for publication.

[26]These five facets of the campaign were outlined by Apodaca's young campaign manager Chris Brown in a taped televised interview broadcast on KOAT-TV (Albuquerque) on November 6, 1974.

[27]Zia Researchers of Albuquerque, New Mexico in a poll released by KOAT-TV projected two days before the election that Apodaca would receive 59.0% to Skeen's 39.7%.